# ENTHUSIASM Disply'd:

BEING

A true COPY of a most Learned, Conscientious, and Devout EXERCISE, or SERMON, held forth the last Lord's Day of *April*, 1649. at Sir *P*—— *T*——'s House in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*,

By Lieutenant General

## *OLIVER CROMWELL.*

As it was faithfully taken in Characters by *Aaron Guerdon.*

To which are added,

I. The General Character of *OLIVER*, extracted from various Authors.

II. His Particular Character. By *Bevil Higgons*, Esq;

III. An exact Account of his Magnificent Lying in State, and Pompous Funeral.

IV. Some Conjectures concerning the Place of his Burial. By Bishop *Kennet.*

V. Poems on his Death. By Mr. *Waller* and Mr. *Cowley.*

*LONDON*,

Printed and Sold by J. Tilly, in *Rose* and *Rainbow-Court*, *Aldersgate-Street*; Mrs. Dodd, at the *Peacock* without *Temple-Bar*; Mrs. Cook at the *Royal-Exchange*, and H. Chappelle in *Grosvenor-Street*. MDCCXLIII.

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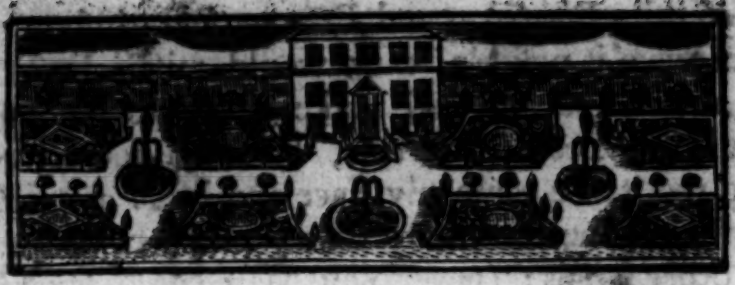

# ROM. XIII. 1.

*Let every Soul be ſubject unto the* Higher Powers; *for there is no* Power *but of God; the* Powers *that be, are ordained of God.*

DEARLY beloved Brethren and Siſters; It is true, this Text is a malignant one; the wicked and ungodly have abuſed it very frequently, but (thanks be to God) it was to their own Ruin: Yet their abuſe ſhall not hinder us from making a right uſe of it. Every thing is ſubject to be abuſed, be it never ſo holy or good: The Men of God, the Creatures of God, all are ſubject to Injuries and Abuſe; the Council of State, the Parliament, the Army, the General, have been, and daily are abuſed; nay, even my ſelf have not eſcaped the violence of thoſe Seducers whoſe Tongues are ſharper than a two-edged Sword; my very Face and Noſe are weekly malign'd and ſcandaliz'd by thoſe ſcribling

Mercuries *Elenctícus* and *Pragmaticus*; inſomuch that were it poſſible, they would raiſe a Faction in my Forehead, and make Mutinies amongſt my very Teeth. It's true, I have a hot Liver, and that's the cauſe my Face and Noſe are red; for my Valour lies in my Liver, not in my Heart, as other Mens: (never any Man could ſay my Heart was ſtout;) indeed the General's lies there, and that's the reaſon his Face is pale. You all know I never was a drunkard, although when I was at the loweſt I had Beer enough, (for you know I had near Relation to a Beer-Brewer) and I had always Money to buy Wine with, if I pleaſed; ſo that I might have been a drunkard if I would: Yet you know I am a temperate ſober Man, elſe I had never been ſo good a Souldier. But what is it the Malignants will not abuſe, who let not to abuſe themſelves? I'll warrant you they would abuſe our very Wives too, if they durſt; and I fear ſome of them do----you know what I mean----but no more of that at preſent.

My *Text*, you ſee, is *Scripture*, and *Scripture* muſt be believed (next to our diviner *Revelations*) be it what it will; but the *Malignants* they would interpret it one way, and we (the *Saints*) interpret it another. Now let any body judge, whether (I ſay) thoſe ungodly *Cavaliers* that fought to uphold *Tyranny* and *Antichriſt*, or we that in the uprightneſs of our hearts fought for *Liberty* and *Freedom*, and for *eſtabliſhing* the *Kingdom* of *King Jeſus*. Surely beloved, it is we that are in the right of it; I think none of you will deny it.

But

But now that I ſpoke of Kings, the main Queſtion is, whether by *Higher Powers*, are meant Kings, or the Commoners? Truly (Beloved) it is a very great Queſtion amongſt thoſe that ſay they are learned: But I think verily they make more ſtir about it than needs; for may not every body that can read, obſerve that *Paul* ſpeaks in the Plural Number, the *Higher Powers?* Now had he meant ſubjection to a King, he would have ſaid, *Let every Soul be ſubject to the Higher Power*; that is, if he had meant one Man: But by this, you ſee, he intended more than one; (for he bids us *be ſubject to the higher Powers*) that is, the *Council* of *State*, the *Houſe* of *Commons*, and the *Army*. I hope I have cleared this Point: So now then I will come cloſer to the Words themſelves, and ſhew you truly and plainly (without any gaudy Rhetorick) what they ſignify unto us, that you be not deceived; and I tell you, this is not to be done by every Spirit, but only by ſuch who are more than ordinarly endowed with the Spirit of diſcerning. I confeſs there are many good Men and Women amongſt you, that intend well, and ſpeak well, and underſtand well, but yet cannot apprehend well all things that lurk in Scripture-Language, for lack of a ſufficient meaſure of the Spirit: They muſt be inwardly called thereunto, or elſe they are ſubject to Errors and Miſconſtructions.

Well then! You ſee who are fitteſt to interpret, and I preſume you believe God hath abundantly ſupplied me; I do not boaſt of it, but I

ſpeak to his Glory that hath vouchſafed to take up his Lodging in ſo vile, contemptible, unſwept, unwaſhed, ungarniſhed a Room, as is this unworthy Cottage of mine: But it was his Will, and I am thankful for it.

Now the Words offer themſelves very naturally; they are plain, not difficult, but proſtrate their ſence in a moſt perſpicuous manner.

For firſt (Beloved) by theſe Words, *Let every Soul*, &c. we may underſtand that every one of us have Souls; whence I raiſe this Doctrine, That it is an ungodly, irreligious, prophane, and idle Tenent amongſt the wicked, to think or ſay, that Women have no Souls. Mark (my Beloved) to think or ſay, &c. for there are many now-a-days that think, and will not ſpeak what they think; and others that ſpeak, and will not think what they ſpeak: But we are none ſuch----dear Siſters, it is a great abuſe to your honourable *Sex*---And now truly I will turn to you only; for you have been our daily and nightly Comforters: Indeed have you! You have raiſed our drooping Spirits, though never ſo much dejected; you have got us Stomacks when we had none, and furniſhed us with Fleſh on all occaſions; we never found you unwilling or unready to help us, when we were the fartheſt from home. Believe it, when I lay before *Pembroke-Caſtle*, my Landlady where I quarter'd (who had once been a *Malignant*, and then but newly crept into the ſtate of Grace;) ſhe (I ſay) had a good Soul within her; ſhe was brim-full of the Spirit, and

yet

yet ſhe was very handſome; which is ſtrange: For ſeldom we find a perfection without an imperfection; commonly Women that are fair without, are either falſe or foul within; but to me ſhe was neither. And yet I do not ſpeak this to condemn Beauty; for it is of a ſingular comfort, and good uſe; and thoſe that be fair, may be true and good: But this is *ſecundum majus & minus*, (as the *Logicians* cant.) Some are better than other ſome: (that's the Engliſh of the Latin;) and indeed I have found great difference in Women. Then again, when I came in *Yorkſhire*, I met with Mrs *Lambert* (the eſpouſed of that honourable and valiant *Saint*, M. G. *Lambert*;) ſhe (I ſay) is a Woman, not very fair, I confeſs, but of as large a Soul, and as full of the Spirit as any I ever yet met with: I profeſs I never knew a Woman more endowed with thoſe heavenly Bleſſings of Love, Meekneſs, Gentleneſs, Patience, and long Suffering; nay, even with all things that may ſpeak her every way deſerving the name of a *Saint:* And yet I ſay ſhe was not very beauteous or comely; for ſhe is ſomething foggy and Sun-burnt (which is ſtrange in that cold Country.) But what Nature had denied her of Ornament without, I found ſhe had within her a Soul, a devout ſweet Soul; and God knows I loved her for it.

THUS we find then both by Scripture and Experience, that all of us have Souls, Men and Women. But then again (Beloved) ſome have good Souls, and ſome have bad; Mrs. *Lambert* hath

hath a good Soul, and no doubt, nay ( I know) many of you that be here, are (and have) good Souls within you. The *Cavaliers* and their Queanes are the bad Souls ; they ſerve and are ſubject to bad and ungodly Men, (Men did I call them ?) nay Devils that would devour us, and drink them ſelves drunk with the Blood of the *Saints*.

By this then it is evident who have, and who are the good Souls : Whence I raiſe this Doctrine, or rather point of Faith, *That we are not to believe, or account any to have, or to be Souls, but thoſe that are of the Family of Saints.* (I would have ſaid *Love*, but that it is a particular Sect, ſomething differing from Ours.)

Come on then ; *Let every Soul be ſubject, &c.* Whereby we ſee all Souls, good and bad, are bound to be ſubject. *All-Souls*-College in *Oxford* muſt be ſubject to the Viſitors ; *All-Souls*-day, though a ſuperſtitious Holy-day (and ſtrictly kept by the *Papiſts*) muſt be ſubject to labour and toil : Your Souls (Brethren and Siſters) muſt be ſubject to Perſwaſion, to Love, Familiarity, and Friendſhip, to all things that may increaſe or elevate the Spirit ; to kindle and take Fire (like Tinder) upon every ſpark and glance of our affections. O my dear Brethren and Siſters, *Love*, it is the fulfilling of the Law ; what need we more then ? It covers a multitude of Sins ; Lo you there ! It hides all our Infirmities. Had one of us lov'd another, theſe Differences and Blood-ſhed had never happened. But ſome will object, and ſay, *There is a Luſt as well as Love* ; and ſometimes *Luſt* is falſly

falſly termed *Love*. I tell you, Beloved, theſe niee and critical diſtinctions are things that once had like to have undone us. *Luſt* is nothing but a deſire of any thing; and if (my Beloved) we deſire to enjoy one another, God forbid but we ſhould help and comfort each other, and lay out our ſelves as far and freely as may be, to aſſiſt each other in the free embraces of the Spirit: The Laws of Reaſon and Nature require it of us.

But let's look yet a little further: *Let every Soul be ſubject to the higher Powers*, &c. What thoſe *Higher Powers* are, I have told you before, they are the *Council* of *State*, the *Houſe* of *Commons*, and the *Army*; and God forbid but all Men ſhould obey them: That is, that the People be ſubject to the *Council* of *State*, the *Council* of *State* to the *Houſe* of *Commons*, they to the *Army*, the *Army* to the *General*, and the *General* to *Me*: To *me* (I ſay) who have plotted, adviſed, counſelled, and fought for both you and them theſe ſeven Years; and now at laſt purchaſed your freedom and liberty. Dear Brethren and Siſters, I ſpeak it not in oſtentation, but with thankfulneſs, and glory to him who made me ſo uſeful an Inſtrument in this bleſſed work of Reformation: For (Beloved) it was I that jugled the late King into the Iſle of *Wight*; it was I diſſolved the Treaty; it was I that ſeized upon and hurried him to *Hurſt-Caſtle*; It was I that ſet Petitions a foot throughout the Kingdom againſt the Perſonal Treaty, and for bringing the King and other capital Offenders to Juſtice; It was I that contriv'd (with

(with the help of my Son *Ireton*) the large *Remonſtrance* of the Army; It was I that preſcribed the erecting of the high Court of Juſtice, and which brought the King to his Tryal: In a Word, it was I that cut off his Head, and with it all the ſhackles and fetters of the *Norman* ſlavery and bondage; It was I that cut off the Heads of *Hamilton*, *Capel* and *Holland*; It was I that ſurpriz'd the *Levellers* at *Burford*, and in *Noathamptonſhire*; It was I that broke their Deſign, deſtroy'd *Thompſon*, &c. diſpers'd and appeas'd the reſt, and which have healed the late diſtempers of the Army, whereby the Land is now reſtored to this bleſſed Peace, Tranquillity and Plenty: And therefore (I ſay) I may juſtly, and without Ambition, Stile my ſelf the Author of all the Kingdoms preſent and future Happineſs.

IT is true (Beloved) the General is a ſtout and valiant Man, and he hath great appearance of God in him; but fitter far to be paſſive than active in the Affairs of State; he is fitter for a Charge than a Council: And the truth is (as I may tell you under the Roſe) he wants Brains to do any thing of Moment. But indeed this I may ſay for him, he is a Man doth not ſeek himſelf; I never found him wilful, but willing always to ſubmit to better Judgments than his own: For when *Sedgwick* (that faſt and looſe Prieſt) of *Coventgarden*, upon the Kings Tryal had writ to his Lady to adviſe him to remit the Execution of that Sentence, and to waſh his Hands of his Death; he (honeſt Man) preſently acquainted me with

the

the buſineſs, and ſhewed me the Arguments given to perſwade him againſt it; and freely referred all to my Judgment. And the 28th of *January* (being the Lords-day) at night I went to him in *Queen-ſtreet*, attended with two Troops of my own Regiment, to remove the ſcruples he made upon that raſcally Prieſts Letter, or to ſecure him by force, in caſe he had contracted more, and would not be ſatisfied: But he (good Man) gave me thanks for my pains, and told me I had fully reſolved him. All this (Beloved) I ſpeak in honour of the Man; but truly he is too great to be ſo good as we muſt have a General (for you know he is a Lord,) and unleſs he be a Lord and no Gentleman, as I fear he will not acknowledge himſelf, he is not for our turns; the rather, for that he is eaſily ſeduced (I have experience of him) and led away by every wind of Doctrine, by meer appearances and ſhadows of Reaſon---Truly (Beloved) I think my ſelf and my Son *Ireton* may prove of greater uſe to the *Re-publick* than any other; and if we be but once the acknowledged Governours thereof by the People, we believe we ſhall anſwer their Expectations to a Hairsbreadth: Which if ever we be, then, Beloved, it is I and my Son who are the *Higher Powers* meant in my *Text*, to whom *ſubjection* is commanded. For (as I told you before) it cannot be to one ſingle Man, it muſt be to two or more; and truly if the People ſhall think us (as we think our ſelves) worthy of that Truſt, we ſhall diſcharge it faithfully, and ſtudy to merit it at their Hands. But miſtake me not, I do not mean by merit as the

Papiſts do, that is, to deſerve it at their Hands for the good Works we have done; no, no, we will acknowledge it to be meerly out of the free Grace and Mercy of the People: For when we have done all we can for them, we confeſs we are but unprofitable Servants.

I THANK them, they have made me General for *Ireland*; and you know I am upon the point of going thither, in great hopes of reducing thoſe Rebellious Traytors to our Obedience. But then (Beloved) ſo many of you as go along with me, muſt be mindful of my Text; that is, you muſt be ſubject to me and my Lieutenant-General. Whenſoever we bid you go, you muſt run; when we bid you Storm, you muſt do it, though it be againſt nothing but Stone-walls: You owe us your Lives and your Limbs, and all that you have; whenſoever we demand them, you ought to ſurrender, and that freely, not grumbling: For you muſt ſubmit to the *Higher Powers*, &c.

THE verity is, this Expedition againſt *Ireland* is like to prove a very hard Taſk, unleſs I can in policy engage *Owen Roe*, if not to joyn with *Jones*, *Monk* and *Coote*, yet to keep off at a diſtance with *Ormond*. I am (Beloved) about it; and I ſhall do my endeavour too, to ſet *Inchequeen* and him at variance; and yet at that very inſtant will I loſe no opportunity to re-oblige him to the Parliament: For you all know what *Inchequeen* is---I have him------I will not ſay how------But it's very probable an Act of Indempnity tied in the Strings of a Five Thouſand Pound Bag, may work

work a Miracle: For he (good Man) is but miſ-guided; he ſtands not upon ſuch Punctilioes of Honour as *Ormond* doth------In truth (Beloved) this *Ormond* is a ſhrewd fellow, and (were he not one of the Wicked) a Man highly deſerving; not ſo much for his knowledge and experience in Military Affairs, (which yet may challenge ſome proportion of honour) as for his diligence and faithfulneſs in the Truſt committed to him: (Valour I will not allow him any; 'tis only deſperateneſs, and that he wants not: But) remember we not how politickly he carried himſelf in the buſineſs of *Dublin*, after we had ſubdued the Common Enemy here the firſt time? How dexterouſly he avoided the Meſſages and Commands of the late King (which we extorted from him) for the ſurrender of that City? How ſhamefully he baffled our Commiſſioners which were ſent to treat with him about it, at what diſtance he kept them, ſtill urging the Captivity of the King to excuſe his Diſobedience; and how oft, and on what ſleeveleſs Errands he ſent them back to re-enforce their Inſtructions; whilſt all that while he was underhand endeavouring to know the Kings Pleaſure, by the Hands of his own Meſſenger? ——— And when he was ſatisfied with the Reality of the King's Deſires and Condition, how notably he truck'd with us for his own ſecurity and ſatisfaction? -----Nay more, when he ſtood upon the receipt of ſome Thouſands, before he would ſurrender, you ſhall hear how he there ſerv'd us :------For notwithſtanding that I cauſed the Parliament by their Letters

voluntarily to assure him the full double of the sum he demanded, upon condition he would quit the Kings (and declare for our) Interest; and that hereunto he had return'd a fine Silver-tongu'd Response in answer to the Parliament, and had thereupon return'd him the authority of the Parliament to indempnify him and his Followers for all things said or done in relation to the *English* or *Irish* Wars, and Four Thousand Pounds in recompence for his losses; with this additional assurance, That he should soon after the Surrender, be re-invested with full Power and Government of *Dublin*, by Commission from the Parliament: Yet no sooner was *Dublin* delivered to us (upon the King's Letters) and his Passport sent him, but in contempt of all our fair and civil Proffers, he transports himself for *France*, abruptly waving both our Proffers and Protection.-----This, Beloved, I instance not to justify him in his rebellious courses against the Nation (those I will use my utmost to destroy him for, but) to let you see how gloriously, even a wicked and ungodly Man (as this *Ormond* is) appears in the Eyes of the World, who but approves himself true to his Trust, that scorns to be corrupted with Gold, and continues so to the last; whereunto (Beloved) you are all of you enjoyned by the Words of my Text---------*Be subject to the Higher Powers*, &c. Nor will I let to acknowledge him less formidable than faithful: For doubtless he hath gone very near to pacify all Interests, and pick'd out of them a numerous Army; over whom he hath placed good Officers;

Officers: (good, ſaid I?) I do not mean, Beloved, godly Officers (for they are all of them *Prelatical* or *Popiſhly* affected) but tried Souldiers; ſuch as will not eaſily turn their backs of an Enemy. -----I muſt ingenuouſly confeſs too, they have a great Strength by Sea, and a number of wilful Fellows for Mariners; who are in great heart by reaſon of the many and great Prizes they have taken from us, and ſo forth. But what of all this? Shall we therefore be diſcouraged? God forbid! The more numerous the Enemy is, the greater ſhall be the Victory over them; the more difficult the Work is, the more our Honour; the fuller their Pockets are, the worſe they will Fight. You know by experience, the Plunder of *Leiceſter* gave us the Victory at *Naſeby*; there you ſaw the *Cavaliers* chuſe rather to leave their King to his ſhifts, than ſhift from behind them their *Cloak-bags.*——Believe it (Brethren) we ſhall meet with many advantages againſt them——*R.* himſelf (I know) will do us ſome good, though it be but in croſſing of Proverbs: And hear I but once that *Culpepper* or *Hyde* is there,-----doubt it not, all is our own-----I cannot recount a Tithe of them. But this I am ſure, the honeſt *Citizens* have feaſted us to good purpoſe; for upon that occaſion, we had their Promiſe to advance Monies afreſh for *Ireland----San nombre ou Meaſure:* (that's *French*, Beloved; the Engliſh whereof is, *Without Weight or Meaſure.*)-----Verily they are of a ſtiff-necked Generation, become very tractable and obedient Servants; of a turbulent and mutinous, an exceeding meek and humble People.

AND

And indeed, my Beloved, it was no ſmall work we had, to ſubdue thoſe Malignant Spirits of the City, conſidering how audaciouſly they once withſtood our Authority, and deſpiſed our Government; how peremptorily they petitioned for a perſonal Treaty with the King, and ſent their Servants into *Colcheſter*, *Surrey* and *Kent*, to enforce us thereunto; how bitterly they inveighed and railed againſt the honourable Proceedings of the Parliament and Army; how largely they contributed to bring in a foreign Nation to invade us, whilſt yet they denied us the Payment of our Arrears, or to continue the neceſſary Taxes, or Exciſe, for our future Maintenance, who had preſerved them and their Families from the Rapine and Cruelty of a barbarous Enemy. But, beloved Brethren, I mean not to rip up all old Matters: Let it ſuffice, that being thus warned by their miſhap, you fall not into the like Sin of Diſobedience to Higher Powers; there being no Powers but of God, the Powers that be being ordained of God.

*Object.* But it may be ſome here may object, and ſay, how ſhall we be ſecured, in your abſence, from the malicious Plots and Contrivances of the Preſbyterians, Malignants, and Levellers; ſince we cannot but expect they will be complotting our Ruin, eſpecially *Lilburn* and the reſt with him in durance, whoſe Spirits can never be quelled but by a *Cromwell*, they being ſo implacable & deſperate?

*Anſ.* Truly Beloved, you that do, do very well to make theſe doubts; I like theſe doubting Chriſtians

Chriſtians above all Chriſtians, provided they be not jealous: And yet (my Beloved) a Man or Woman may be jealous without cauſe, as that holy Man of God, Major-General *Lambert* is of his Wife; which truly proceeds not ſo much out of any corruption of Judgment, as Manners: Yet the Man was well-bred, though not educated ſo well as we are iu the South. But as to this Point, you ſhall hear how careful I have been to provide for your Safety, and the Peace of the Nation, in my Abſence: For ſuppoſing that *Lilburn* and his Faction, and the reſt of our Enemies (as God knows we have too many) will ſtrive to alienate the Hearts of the People from me, and to uſurp the Rule and Dominion to themſelves, if a convenient ſtrength, and ſome one or other were not left, fitted with Policy and Courage to reſtrain them; I have taken care that my Son *Ireton* ſhall ſtay amongſt you, and that my Corrival (noble *Lambert*) ſhall go in his ſtead, as my Lieutenant-General, into *Ireland*: And my Son (you all know) wants no Spirit; (if he did, he ſhould never have married my Daughter, that you may well think:) As for his Policy, I ſuppoſe you have as little reaſon to doubt of it, as I have of his Fidelity: The large Remonſtrance renders him (as I take it) very clean-handed and ſubtle; and with him I'll ſee a ſufficient ſtrength both of Horſe and Foot be left; which (together with the City-Forces which we have engaged, and are aſcertained will ſtick to us, the General (ſo popular and valiant a Man) ſtaying here alſo to overſee them) ſhall (I warrant

warrant you) ſuppreſs all Inſurrections and Tumults whatſoever. However, I have given ſuch order to my Son *Ireton* concerning *Lilburn* and the reſt, that if ever hereafter he obſerve him or them, to ſtir up the People to Sedition, or ſcribble any thing (as formerly) againſt our lawful Proceedings; that forthwith he ſhall execute Juſtice upon them: And I think, dear Brethren, you will judge it but neceſſary, ſince neither our Mercy, nor the ſenſe they have of the uprightneſs of our Cauſe, will invite them to forbear beſpattering the innocent Robes of this Infant-State.

And now, Beloved, as we muſt not conceal any thing from one another, I ſhall make bold to requite your Ingenuity by the inſtancing one other Doubt, with a Danger at the end of it; which although it may ſtartle you at firſt ſight, yet be of good courage, be faithful and ſtrong; it admits of an eaſy ſolution: And that's the Accord of the *Scots* with their new King.-----Truly I muſt confeſs my Deſigns were never till now, ſo diverted and confounded: For I muſt tell you, I have reverenced that ſhort, but pithy Precept of my Father *Machiavel* [*Divide & Impera.*] So long as I could keep them at odds amongſt themſelves, I feared not but to order them as I pleaſed. But now it is too true, that both the Parliament and Prieſts of that Kingdom, have attainted *Argyle* of High-Treaſon; [that is, for holding the Hands of the *Scots* until we Executed that Exemplary piece of Juſtice on the King.] And that therefore they intend to cut his Head off; which if they do, then, Beloved, they

deſtroy

deſtroy our only Friend in that Kingdom, and the differences on foot there, muſt needs expire with his breath: Which being once done, they will have nothing left to do, but vie Authority with us, and threaten a ſecond Invaſion. For you muſt underſtand, the *Scots* are a Warlike People, and that there is nothing will make them ſooner Rebel, than Idleneſs and Peace; ſo that if this be ſo, we ſhall be ſure to have them amongſt us.-----Now, Beloved, to preſerve our ſelves againſt them in this great Garriſon of our *Engliſh Commonwealth*: It is for our ſafety that we quit thoſe out-houſes of *Ireland*; and if they were burnt, it matters not, ſo we preſerve but what we have already in poſſeſſion. To which end I have reſolv'd, that if they cut off the Head of *Argyle*, or otherwiſe diſable him to proſecute our Intereſt there, that then I will wave the War of *Ireland*, and keeping the fore-door of this Nation cloſe ſhut, bend all Powers to defend the back-door againſt that perfidious Nation. And this I conceive to be the ſureſt way, provided I can but make choice of able and truſty Men to ſecure the Ports, Towns, and In-land Garriſons, without Revolts or Treachery.-------And this will be eaſily done, conſidering the Men and Money we have at our Pleaſure. — I tell you, Brethren, our Thouſand ſhall Slay their Ten Thouſands, and in a ſhort ſpace make them a miſerable little People; and at length root them out from off the face of the Earth, and poſſeſs us of their Lands, for an Inheritance to us and our Generations for ever.

BUT I have ſtrayed too far from my Text; I will now come to the remaining Words thereof, and ſo conclude-----*For there are no Powers but of God*, &c. the *Council* of *State*, the *Houſe* of *Commons*, the *Council* of *War*, and the *High Court* of *Juſtice* (when it was) were all *Powers of God*; and the following Words of my Text give you the Reaſon. *For the Powers that be, are ordained of God:* Be they Juſt or Unjuſt, *they are all of God, God ordained them*; and ſo he did that *Tyrannical Power* of the late King, and thoſe Belly-gods the Biſhops, to puniſh us for our Infirmities. But now that he hath graciouſly removed thoſe *Powers*, he hath *ordained* ours to preſerve, cheriſh, elevate, comfort, and delight the *Saints*, and to rule and govern the Land in Sincerity and in Truth; to diſtribute Juſtice equally and impartially according to his Will.—— But the time is ſpent, and I muſt be marching—— I deſire therefore (my dear Brethren and Siſters) that you daily pour out your Prayers and Supplications for us, and for our Succeſs againſt the wicked and ungodly that are riſen up againſt us; and that you ceaſe not to comfort one another with mutual Embraces and ſpiritual Kiſſes, to delight and ſweeten your Paſſage through this Vale of Miſery: And that you take eſpecial care to ſtrengthen and corroborate your ſelves with Capon and Cock-broth, that I may find Oil in your Lamps at my return.

*FINIS.*

SOME

## SOME account of his CHARACTER.

AS to his perſon, he had a manly ſtern look, and was of an active healthful conſtitution, able to endure the greateſt toil and fatigue. When he appear'd firſt in the parliament, he made no great figure, there ſeemed to be nothing extraordinary in him, he diſcovered none of thoſe talents which uſe to gain applauſe, and work upon the affections of the hearers and ſtanders by; yet as he grew into place and authority, his parts ſeem'd to be rais'd, as if he had faculties, that lay conceal'd, till he had occaſion to uſe them; and when he was to act the part of a greatman, he did it without any indecency, notwithſtanding the want of cuſtom. His converſation among his friends was very diverting and familiar, but in publick reſerv'd and grave. He us'd often to conſult with the lord *Broghil*, *Pierpoint*, *Whitelock*, Sir *Charles Wolſley*, and *Thurloe*; and would be ſhut up three or four hours together with them in private diſcourſe, and none were admitted to come in to him: He would ſometimes be very chearful, and laying aſide his greatneſs, would be exceeding familiar; and by way of diverſion would make verſes with them, and every one muſt try his fancy: He commonly call'd for tobacco, pipes, and a candle, and would now and then take a pipe himſelf: Then he would fall again to his great and ſerious buſineſs, and would adviſe them about his weighty and important affairs.

HE affected, for the moſt part, a plainneſs in his clothes; but in them, as well as in his guards and attendance, he appear'd with magnificence upon publick occaſions. He was very temperate, ſparing in diet, and tho' ſometimes he would drink freely, yet never

to exceſs: He was moderate in all other pleaſures, and after his firſt reformation, free from all viſible immoralities, and ſeem'd to be a great enemy to vice, and a lover of virtue, always taking care to ſuppreſs the former, and encourage the latter. He writ a tolerable good hand, and a ſtyle becoming a gentleman, except when he us'd to cant, which, whether it was affected or ſincere, I leave others to judge. His ſpeeches were for the moſt part ambiguous, eſpecially in publick meetings, wherein he rather left others to pick out his meaning, than told them himſelf: tho' at other times he ſufficiently ſhew'd he could command his ſtyle according as there was occaſion, and would deliver himſelf with ſuch a force and ſtrength of expreſſion, that 'twas commonly ſaid, *That every* word *he ſpoke was a* thing. He loved men of wit, and was a great admirer of muſick, entertaining the moſt skilful in that ſcience in his pay and family. He reſpected all perſons that excell'd in any art, and would procure them to be ſent or brought to him. He was very well read in the *Greek* and *Roman* ſtory; but 'tis very obvious, that in governing theſe Nations, he ſtudied men more than books, ſo that his turn was ſerved in all offices. No man was ever better ſerv'd, nor took more pains to be ſo: No man more cunningly div'd into the manners of men, and into the tempers of thoſe whom he had any thing to do with, nor ſooner diſcovte'd their talents. And if he came to hear of a man fit for his purpoſe, tho' ever ſo obſcure, he ſent for him, and employ'd him; ſuiting the employment to the perſon, and not the perſon to the employment: And upon this maxim in his government depended, in a great meaſure, his ſucceſs.

He had a rere faculty of examining and winding about the minds of all, even his enemies, which he could beſet with innumerable ſnares and artifices. He often

often made feaſts for the inferior officers of the army, and as they were eating, he would order the drums to beat, and call in his foot-guards, to fall on and ſnatch off the meat from the table, before they had half done; after which, to make farther diverſion, he would proceed to throwing of cuſhions, putting burning coals into their boots and pockets, and a hundred ſuch pranks: And when the officers had ſufficiently tired themſelves with laughing and ſporting in that manner, he wou'd wheedle them to open their hearts, and ſo draw from them ſome ſecrets of the greateſt moment; while himſelf, ſounding the opinions of others, artfully conceal'd his own. He had an abſolute command over all his paſſions and affections, ſo that he could ſuit his carriage to all companies and occaſions. He would ſometimes be very merry and jocund with ſome of the nobility; and would then take occaſion to tell them, what company they had lately kept, and when and where they had drank the king and royal family's Health; adviſing them, when they did it again, to do it more privately; and this without the leaſt ſign of paſſion, but in a way of mirth and drollery. Having entertain'd ſome jealouſy of general *Monk* in *Scotland*, he, a little before his death, wrote a letter to him with his own hand. The body of the letter contain'd only ſome general matters relating to the government; but after his uſual drolling manner, he ſubjoin'd this by way of poſtſcript, which was indeed the main occaſion of the letter: *There be that tell me, that there is a certain cunning fellow in* Scotland *called* George Monk, *who is ſaid to lie in wait there to introduce* Charles Stuart; *I pray uſe your diligence to apprehend him, and ſend him up to me.*

All allow he was an extraordinary genius, and maſter of the moſt refined policy; that he had a great ſpirit, a wonderful circumſpection and ſagacity, and a moſt

moſt magnanimous reſolution. His courage and conduct in the field, were uudoubtedly admirable; he had a greatneſs of ſoul, which the greateſt dangers and difficulties rather animated than diſcouraged; and his diſcipline and government of the army was in all reſpects ſuch as might become the moſt renowned and accompliſh'd general. "He muſt, ſays the lord "*Clarendon*, have had a wonderful underſtanding in "the natures and humours of men, and as great a "dexterity in applying them, who, from a private "and obſcure birth (tho' of a good family) without "intereſt or eſtate, alliance or friendſhip, could raiſe "himſelf to ſuch a height, and compound and knead "ſuch oppoſite and contradictory tempers, humours, "and intereſts, into a conſiſtence that contributed to "his deſigns, and to their own deſtruction; whilſt "himſelf grew inſenſibly powerful enough to cut off "thoſe by whom he had climbed, in the inſtant that "they projected to demoliſh their own building.

AMBITIOUS he certainly was to a very high degree, and yet at the ſame time ſeem'd to have a paſſionate regard to the publick good: And if this was really the caſe, the former ſeems to have ſo far blinded him, as to make him think many things were for the publick good which really were not ſo: But how far the neceſſity of affairs, and the confuſion and unſettled ſtate the nation was then in; how far this extraordinary caſe, I ſay, might juſtify ſuch proceedings in ſome inſtances, in order to prevent greater confuſions and diſtractions, or whether this was really *Cromwell*'s deſign in thoſe proceedings, I leave rhe reader to judge. But whatever cenſure we are to paſs upon his actions of this kind, it is allow'd by all, even by his enemies, that he perform'd many great and laudable things to the honour and advantage of the nation.

IN

In ſhort, he apply'd himſelf ſo induſtriouſly to the buſineſs of the common-wealth, and diſcover'd ſuch abilities for managing it, that hisgreateſt enemies acknowledged he was not unworthy of the government, if his way to it had been juſt and innocent. And he ſhew'd his good underſtanding in nothing more than in ſeeking out capable and worthy men for all employments, but more particularly for the courts of law, which gave a general ſatisfaction.

Tho' he was brave in his perſon, yet he was wary in his conduct; for from the time he was firſt declar'd protector, he always wore a coat of mail under his clothes. He was very cautious and reſerv'd whenever there was occaſion, and in matters of greateſt moment trnſted none but his ſecretary *Thurloe*, and oftentimes not him; an inſtance of which the ſecretary us'd to tell of himſelf: "That he was once commanded "by *Cromwell* to go at a certain hour to *Gray's-Inn*, "and at ſuch a place deliver a bill of 20000 *l.* pay- "able to the bearer at *Genoa*, to a man he ſhould find "walking in ſuch a habit and poſture as he deſcrib'd "him, without ſpeaking a word." *Thurloe* did as "he was order'd; and never knew to his dying day, either the perſon or the occaſion. At another time the protector came late at night to *Thurloe*'s office, to give him directions about ſomething of great importance and ſecrecy; which having done, he obſerv'd, that Mr. *Moreland*, one of the clerks, was in the room, ſeeming to be aſleep upon his desk; but ſuſpecting that he might not really be ſo, and that he might have overheard their diſcourſe, he preſently drew a ponyard, which he always carried under his coat, and would have diſpatch'd him upon the ſpot, if *Thurloe* had not carneſtly intreated him to deſiſt, and aſſur'd him, that *Moreland* having ſat up two nights together, was now certainly faſt aſleep.

No

No prince ſeem'd to be maſter of ſo much, and ſo particular intelligence as *Cromwell*; of which the follorwnig, among others, is a remakable inſtance: A gentleman who had ſerv'd the late king, deſir'd leave of the protector to travel, and obtain'd it, on condition *he ſhould not ſee* Charles Stuart. Accordingly arriving at *Cologn*, he ſent to deſire of the king that he might wait on him by night, which was agreed to. And when he had fully diſcours'd of the buſineſs he came about, he took leave, having receiv'd a letter which he ſew'd within the crown of his hat. Upon his return to *England*, he came with confidence to the protector; and being asked by him, *If he had punctually perform'd his promiſe?* he anſwer'd, *that he had: But*, ſaid his highneſs, *Who was it that put out the candles when you ſpoke to* Charles Stuart? The gentleman was ſtartled at this unexpected queſtion; and the protector farther demanding, *What he ſaid to him*, he anſwer'd, *Nothing at all. Did he not ſend a letter by you then?* ſaid *Cromwell*; and the gentleman denying that alſo, *Cromwell* took his hat, and having found the letter, ſent him immediately to the *Tower*.

His maintaining the honour of the nation in all foreign parts, gratify'd the temper which is very natural to *Engliſhmen*. Of this he was ſo careful, that tho' he was not a crown'd head, yet his ambaſſadors had all the reſpects and honours paid them, which our kings ambaſſadors ever had. He would ſay, *That the dignity of the crown was upon the account of the nation, of which the king was only the repreſentative head; and therefore the nation being ſtill the ſame, he would have the ſame reſpect paid to his miniſters.* And 'tis very obſervable, that *Lockhart*, *Cromwell*'s ambaſſador in *France*, and governour of *Dunkirk*, told biſhop *Burnet*, *That when he was ſent afterwards ambaſſador by king* Charles, *he found he had nothing of that regard that was paid him in* Cromwell's *time*.

FEW princes ever bore their character higher upon all occaſions than our protector, eſpecially in his treaties with crown'd heads. And 'tis a thing without example that's related by one of the beſt inform'd hiſtorians of the age, namely *Puffendorf*, in his life of the elector of *Brandenburgh*, That in *Cromwell's* league with *France* againſt *Spain*, he would not allow the *French* king to call himſelf king of *France*, but king of the *French*; whereas he took to himſelf not only the title of protector of *England*, but likewiſe of *France*: And which is yet more ſurprizing, in the inſtrument of the treaty, the protector's name was put before the *French* king's. *France* indeed was then under a minority, and was not arriv'd to that power and greatneſs, which it afterwards attain'd to; towards which our protector contributed not a little, by that alliance with *France* againſt *Spain*, which is generally reckon'd the falſeſt ſtep he ever made, with reſpect to the repoſe of *Europe*; and for which he has been highly reflected on. But I ſhall here ſet down in his behalf, what Sir *William Temple* writes concerning him on this occaſion, in the third part of his *Memoirs*.

" CARDINAL *Mazarine*, ſays that author, having ſurmounted his own dangers, and the difficulties incident to a minority, purſu'd the plan left him by his predeceſſor (*viz.* cardinal *Richlieu*;) and by his meaſures taken with *Cromwell*, and the aſſiſtance of an immortal body of 6000 brave *Engliſh*, which by agreement were to be continually recruited, he made ſuch a progreſs in *Flanders*, that *Cromwell* ſoon perceiv'd the balance turn'd, and was grown too heavy on the *French* ſide: Whereupon he diſpatch'd a gentleman privately to *Madrid*, to propoſe there a change of his treaty with *France*, into one with *Spain*; by which he would draw his

" forces over into their ſervice, and make them
" 10000, to be continually recruited, upon condition
" their firſt action ſhould be to beſiege *Calais*, and
" when taken, to put it into his hands. The perſon
" ſent upon this errand, was paſt the *Pyrenees*, when
" he was overtaken by the news of *Cromwell*'s death:
" whereupon *Mazarine* having not only loſt his ſtron-
" geſt ſupport in *Flanders*, but obſerv'd how his de-
" ſign would never be ſerv'd by any meaſures he
" could take with *England*, however it ſhould be
" govern'd, reſolv'd upon a peace with *Spain*, and
" made it at the *Pyrenees*."

*CROMWELL*'s influence was ſo great in *France*, that the cardinal durſt not deny him any thing; which he took very hard, and complain'd of to thoſe he could be free with. He one day made a viſit to madam *Turenne*, and when he took his leave of her, ſhe, as ſhe was wont to do, beſought him to continue gracious to the churches. Upon which *Mazarine* told her, " That he knew not how to behave himſelf. If
" he advis'd the king to puniſh and ſuppreſs their in-
" ſolence, *Cromwell* threaten'd him to join with the
" *Spaniard*; and if he ſhew'd any favour to them, at
" *Rome* they accounted him an *Heretick*." 'Twas
" ſaid, that the cardinal would change countenance, when he heard *Cromwell* nam'd; ſo that it paſs'd into a proverb in *France*, That *he was not ſo much afraid of the devil as of* Oliver Cromwell.

*SPAIN* dreaded him, and courted his friendſhip, as much as *France*, tho' the latter prevail'd. When the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador was inform'd, that the fleet under *Penn* and *Venables* was gone towards the *Weſt-Indies*, and that the ſtorm was likely to fall upon ſome of his maſter's territories, he apply'd himſelf to the protector, to know whether he had any juſt ground of complaint againſt the king his maſter; if ſo, he

was

was ready to give him all poſſible ſatisfaction. The protector demanded a liberty to trade to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, and the repeal of the laws of the *Inquiſition:* To which the ambaſſador reply'd, *That his maſter had but two eyes, and that he would have him to put them both out at once.*

THE ſtates of *Holland* ſo dreaded him, that they were very careful to give him no manner of umbrage: And when at any time the king or his brothers came to ſee their ſiſter, the princeſs of *Orange*, within a day or two they us'd to ſend a deputation to acquaint them, that *Cromwell* had oblig'd them to give them no harbour. When king *Charles* was ſeeking for a pretext for a war with the *Dutch*, in 1672, he made this one, That they ſuffer'd ſome of his rebellious ſubjects to live in their country. *Borel* their ambaſſador anſwer'd, That it was a maxim of long ſtanding among them, not to enquire upon what account ſtrangers came to live in their dominions, but to entertain them all, unleſs they had been guilty of conſpiring againſt the perſons of princes. The king thereupon telling him, how they had us'd him and his brothers, the ambaſſador with much ſimplicity anſwer'd, *Alas Sir, that was another thing:* Cromwell *was a great man, and made himſelf be fear'd both by land and ſea.* To which the king reply'd; *I'll make my ſelf be fear'd too in my turn.* But, as is obſerv'd, he was ſcarce as good as his word.

EVEN the *Turks* ſtood in awe of *Cromwell*, and durſt not offend him. And all *Italy* trembled at his name, and ſeem'd under a pannick fear as long as he liv'd. When admiral *Blake* ſail'd into the *Mediterranean*, the city of *Rome*, and all the pope's territories were greatly alarmed; and the terror of the people was ſuch, that publick Proceſſions were made, and the Hoſt was expoſed forty hours, to avert the wrath

of heaven, and prevent *Blake*'s attacking the dominions of the church. And indeed we are told, that *Cromwell* us'd to ſay, *That his ſhips in the* Mediterranean *ſhould viſit* Civita Vecchia, *and the ſound of his Cannon ſhould be heard in* Rome. But in the midſt of this power and grandeur, death put an end to all his high projects and daring deſigns.

The end of the CHARACTER.

## AN exact account of His magnificent lying in ſtate, and pompous funeral.

THE corps at leaſt in appearance, was on the 26th of *September* 1658, at night, privately remov'd from *Whitehall* in a mourning herſe, attended by his domeſtick ſervants, to *SomerſetHouſe*. A few days after, his effigy was with great ſtate and magnificence, expos'd openly, multitudes daily flocking to ſee the ſight, which appear'd in this order. The firſt room was wholly hung with black; at the upper end of which, was plac'd a cloth and chair of ſtate. In like manner were the ſecond and third rooms, all having ſcutcheons very thick upon the walls, and guards of partizans for people to paſs thro'. The fourth room was compleatly hung with black velvet, the cieling being alſo cover'd with the ſame. Here lay the effigy under a noble canopy of black velvet, apparell'd in the moſt magnificent robes, lac'd with gold, and furr'd with ermines, with a ſcepter in one hand, and a globe in the other, and a ſword hanging by its ſide, and a rich cap on the head, ſuitable to the robes. Behind the head was placed a chair and cuſhion of tiſſu'd gold, in which lay an imperial crown, beſet with diamonds and other precious ſtones. The

bed

bed of ſtate on which the effigy lay, was cover'd with a large pall of black velvet, under which was a *Holland* ſheet, born up by ſix ſtools cover'd with cloth of gold. The bed was inclos'd with rails and balaſters, and, beſides ſolemn mourners, ſurrounded with banners, banrols, and all kinds of trophies of military honours. Within the rails ſtood eight ſilver candleſticks about five foot high, with white wax tapers ſtanding in them, of three foot long. At each corner of the rails was erected an upright pillar, which bore on their tops lions and dragons, holding in their paws ſtreamers crowned. The effigy having for ſome weeks continued in this poſture, on the firſt of *November* was remov'd into the great hall, where with new ornaments and ceremony it was plac'd, ſtanding upon an aſcent under a cloth of ſtate, with the imperial crown upon the head. Four or five hundred candles ſet in flat ſhining candleſticks, were ſo plac'd round near the roof of the hall, that the light they gave ſeem'd like the rays of the ſun: by all which his late highneſs was repreſented as now in a ſtate of glory.

HAVING remain'd thus till the 23d of *November*, the waxen effigy of the protector, with the crown on his head, ſword by his ſide, globe and ſcepter in his hands, was plac'd in a ſtately open chariot, cover'd all over with black velvet, and drawn by ſix horſes cover'd with the ſame, both chariot and horſes being adorn'd with plumes and other ornaments. The ſtreets from *Somerſet-Houſe* to *Weſtminſter-Abby*, were guarded on both ſides of the way by ſoldiers in new red coats and black buttons, with their enſigns wrapp'd in cypreſs. The proceſſion was in the following manner: Firſt of all went a marſhal attended by his deputy, and thirteen more on horſe-back, to clear the way: After theſe follow'd the poor men of *Weſtminſter* by two and two, in mourning gowns and hoods; and next to them,

them, the ſervants of thoſe perſons of quality that attended the funeral. Then came the protector's late domeſtick ſervants, with his bargemen and watermen, follow'd by the ſervants of the lord mayor and ſheriffs of *London*; after whom follow'd the gentlemen attendants on foreign ambaſſadors and publick miniſters. After theſe march'd the poor knights of *Windſor* in gowns and hoods; then the clerks, ſecretaries, and officers of the army, admiralty, treaſury, navy, and exchequer; next, the commiſſioners of the exciſe, of the army, and committee of the navy. Then march'd the commiſſioners for approbation of preachers, and behind them, all the officers, meſſengers, and clerks belonging to the privy-council, and both houſes of parliament. Next in order follow'd his late highneſs's phyſicians, the head officers of the army, the officers and aldermen of *London*, the maſters of *Chancery*, and the protector's council at law; the judges of admiralty, judges in *Wales*, and maſter of requeſts; the barons of the exchequer, judges of both benches, and the lord mayor of *London*; the perſons ally'd in blood to the protector, and the members of the late *Other Houſe*; the publick miniſters of foreign princes, the *Dutch* ambaſſador alone, having his train held up by four gentlemen; then the *Portugal* ambaſſador, and the *French* ambaſſador in like manner; the lords commiſſioners of the great ſeal, the commiſſioners of the treaſury, and his highneſs's privy-council. Theſe all mov'd in a ſolemn and pompous proceſſion, each diviſion or company being diſtinguiſh'd by drums, trumpets, banners, and led horſes. Then came the chariot with the effigy, on each ſide of which were ſix banrols born by ſeveral perſons; and likewiſe ſeveral pieces of the protector's armour, carry'd by eight officers of the army, attended by the heralds. Next went *garter*, principal king at arms, attended by a gentleman on each

each hand bare-headed; and then came the chief mourner: After which follow'd the horſe of honour, in very rich trappings embroider'd on crimſon-velvet, and adorn'd with white, red, and yellow plumes, being led by the maſter of the horſe. The rear of this noble ſhew was brought up by the protector's guard of halberdiers, the warders of the *Tower*, and a troop of horſe. The effigy being brought in this manner to the *weſt* end of the *Abby* church, was taken from the chariot by ten gentlemen, and carried through the the church under a canopy of ſtate up to the *eaſt* end, where it was plac'd in a moſt magnificent ſtructure built for that purpoſe, to remain for a certain time expos'd to publick view.

## SOME conjectures concerning the place of His burial.

AFTER all, as Bp. *Kennet* in his *Compleat Hiſtory of* England obſerves in his notes, it remains a queſtion, where his body was really buried: It was, ſays he, in appearance in *Weſtminſter* Abby; ſome report it was carry'd below bridge, and thrown into the *Thames*; but 'tis moſt probable that 'twas buried in *Naſeby Field*. This account, continues he, is given, as averr'd, and ready to be depos'd, if occaſion requir'd, by Mr. *Barkſtead*, ſon to *Barkſtead* the regicide, who was about 15 years old at the time of *Cromwell*'s death: "That the ſaid *Barkſtead* his father, "being lieutenant of the *Tower*, and a great confident "of *Cromwell*'s, did, among other ſuch confidents, "in the time of his illneſs, deſire to know where he "would be bury'd: To which the protector anſwer'd, "*Where he had obtain'd the greateſt victory and glory, and as nigh the ſpot as could be gueſs'd where the heat of the*

" *the action was*, viz in the field at *Naſeby*, *Com.* " *Northampton.* Which accordingly was thus per-" form'd: At midnight, ſoon after his death, the body " (being firſt embalm'd and wrapt in a leaden coffin) " was in a herſe convey'd to the ſaid field, Mr. *Bark-*" *ſtead* himſelf attending, by order of his father, cloſe " to the herſe: Being come to the field, they found, " about the midſt of it, a grave dug about nine foot " deep, with the green ſod carefully laid on one ſide, " and the mould on the other; in which the coffin " being put, the grave was inſtantly fill'd up, and the " green ſod laid exactly flat upon it, care being taken " that the ſurplus mould ſhould be clean remov'd. " Soon after, the like care was taken that the field " ſhould be entirely plough'd up, and it was ſown " three or four years ſucceſſively with corn." Several other material circumſtances, ſays the fore-mention'd author, the ſaid Mr. *Barkſtard* (who now frequents *Richard*'s coffeehouſe within *Temple-Bar*) relates, too long to be here inſerted.

It is, I think, pretty certain, that *Oliver*'s corpſe was not really interr'd in *Weſtminſter* abby; and conſequently, that it was not his body that was afterwards taken up and hang'd at *Tyburn* for his: But whether this account of its being buried in *Naſeby* field, or the other of its being ſunk in the *Thames*, is moſt probable, I cannot ſay. What is ſaid for the former, we have ſeen; and the other was related by a Gentlewoman who attended *Oliver* in his laſt Sickneſs, as we are told by the Author of the *Hiſtory of* England *during the Reigns of the Royal Houſe of* Stuart. She told him, that the day after the protector's death, it was conſulted how to diſpoſe of his corpſe; when it was concluded, that conſidering the malice of the cavaliers, it was moſt certain they would inſult the body of their moſt dreadful enemy, if ever it ſhould be in their

power;

power; to prevent which, it was reſolv'd to wrap it up in lead, to put it on board a barge, and ſink it in the deepeſt part of the *Thames*; which was undertaken and perform'd by two of his near relations, and ſome truſty ſoldiers, the following night.

SOME further Particulars of his Funeral, from the Third volume of the Compleat Hiſtory of ENGLAND.

ONE of the firſt Acts of the new Government, was to order the Funeral of the late Uſurper; and the Council having reſolved that it ſhould be very magnificent, the Care of it was referred to a Committee of them, who ſending for Mr. *Kinnerſly*, Maſter of the Wardrobe, deſired him to find out ſome Precedent by which they might govern themſelves in this Important Affair. After Examination of his Books and Papers, Mr. *Kinnerſly*, who was ſuſpected to be inclined to Popery, recommended to them the Solemnities uſed upon the like Occaſion for *Philip* II. King of *Spain*, who had been repreſented to be in Purgatory for above two Months. In like Manner was the Body of this great Reformer laid in *Somerſet* Houſe. And it may be added, that the Folly and Profuſion of this pompous Funeral ſo far provoked the People, that they threw Dirt in the Night on his Eſcucheon, that was placed over the great Gate of *Somerſet* Houſe; as likewiſe, that the exceſſive Charges of it were never half paid, as if the very dead Body was to uſurp upon the Rights and Properties of the People.

In

In *Mr.* Bevil Higgons's SHORT REVIEW *of our* ENGLISH HISTORY, *(very few of which Books eſcaped the Hands of ſome of his* late MAJESTY's *Meſſengers, &c. on Account of certain Offences it gave) I find the following* Character *of his* Highneſs *the Lord* Protector.

OLIVER CROMWELL was deſcended, by a Daughter, from the famous *Cromwell*, in the Time of *Harry* the Eighth. From this Anceſtor, who was one of the firſt *Fanatics* in *England*, our *Oliver* ſeems to have derived his Enthuſiaſm, which now meeting with more Power and Malice, was more fatal. This Perſon, from a very Private Gentleman, by running in with the Humour of the Times, which was Whining, Canting and Preaching, had raiſed himſelf, by Degrees, to the Supreme Command in the Army. Whether or no he was really ſo great a Man as ſome People fancy, who always admire ſucceſsful Villainy, we will here inquire. Some of his Contemporaries, in their Memoirs, have denied even that which ſeems his moſt viſible great Quality, his Perſonal Courage: But this Diſingenuity we will impute to Pique and Envy, by allowing him a Quality which is no longer a Virtue than when it is well placed. We find it often in Thieves and Highwaymen, as well as in Heroes; and Philoſophy calls it only a Brutal Ferity, when not founded on a Baſis of Prudence and Juſtice. As for the other great Endowments, both of Body and Mind, which are the Ladders of Ambition, and have raiſed Men in all Ages and Countries, he ſeems to have wanted them all, except a profound Diſſimulation and Hypocriſy. His Perſon was mean, his Aſpect unpromiſing, and his Addreſs aukward, unbecoming

coming a Gentleman. Beſides, his natural Parts were not extraordinary, nor improved by any very great Advantages of Education; for he was very ignorant of the Great World, and very illiterate, notwithſtanding he had been bred in a Univerſity, which is in itſelf not the beſt Education to form a Great Man. This Want of due Qualifications, ſeems to render him improper for Inſinuation and Popularity; for it is certain, that his Aſpect and Behaviour were ſo far from engaging, that, to the contrary, there is a memorable Tradition;——That when he was only a Private Burgeſs, in the Year 41. Before he was known in the World, or the War broke out, Sir *Bevil Granvil*, who was a Member of that Parliament, conceived ſo mortal a Diſguſt againſt the Perſon of this *Cromwell*, that he could not endure to ſit near him in the Houſe; and when he was ask'd, by his Friends, what Reaſon he had for that Averſion? he replied; "He could give no Account, but that his Mind foreboded, that ill-looked Fellow would deſtroy the King:" A Preſage not more Remarkable than True. But we have ſeveral Inſtances of the like Nature in Story. So that, after all, we muſt aſcribe this extraordinary Riſe to a ſtrange Conjunction of Circumſtances in the Time he lived, which, as they never happened in the World before, ſo probably never may again: For a Man to raiſe his Fortune by *Preaching* and *Praying*, which were the only Talents which firſt recommended him to this *Fanatic* Army; a Profeſſion which, in other Ages and Countries, never much minded Religion. Upon this Conſideration we may rationally conclude, That, had he been born in *England* in any other Time, he would have been no more than *Oliver Cromwell*; and if in *France*, never had a Regiment of Horſe.

## A POEM upon the Death of OLIVER CROMWELL, Lord Protector: Alluding to the Storm that Happen'd about that Time. By Mr. *WALLER*.

WE muſt reſign! heav'n his great ſoul does claim
In ſtorms as loud as his immortal fame:
His dying groans (his laſt breath) ſhake our iſle,
And trees uncut fall for his fun'ral pile:
About his palace their broad roots are toſt
Into the air: So *Romulus* was loſt:
New *Rome* in ſuch a tempeſt miſs'd her king;
And from obeying, fell to worſhipping.

ON *Oeta*'s top thus *Hercules* lay dead,
With ruin'd oakes and pines about him ſpread;
Thoſe his laſt fury from the mountain rent;
Our dying hero, from the continent
Raviſh'd whole towns, and forts from *Spaniards* reft,
As his laſt legacy to *Britain* left.

THE ocean, which ſo long our hopes confin'd,
Cou'd give no limits to his vaſter mind:
Our bounds enlargement was his lateſt toil;
Nor hath he left us pris'ners to our iſle:
Under the tropick is our language ſpoke,
And part of *Flanders* hath receiv'd our yoke.

FROM civil broils he did us diſengage;
Found nobler objects for our martial rage:
And, with wiſe conduct, to his country ſhew'd
The ancient way of conquering abroad.

UNGRATEFUL then, if we no tears allow
To him that gave us peace and empire too!
Princes that fear'd him, grieve, concern'd to ſee
No pitch of glory from the grave is free.
Nature her ſelf took notice of his death,
And, ſighing, ſwell'd the ſea with ſuch a breath,
That to remoteſt ſhores her billows roll'd,
Th' approaching fate of their great ruler told.

VERSES

# VERSES Written by Mr. COWLEY Soon after the Death of *CROMWELL*.

AH, happy Iſle, how art thou chang'd and curſt,
Since I was born, and knew thee firſt!
When Peace, which had forſook the World around,
(Frighted with Noiſe, and the Shrill Trumpet's ſound)
Thee for a private Place of Reſt,
And a ſecure Retirement choſe,
Wherein to build her *Halcyon* Neſt;
No Wind durſt ſtir abroad the Air to diſcompoſe.

When all the Riches of the Globe beſide,
Flow'd into thee with ev'ry Tide;
When all that Nature did thy Soil deny,
The Growth was of thy fruitful Induſtry;
What all the proud and dreadful Sea,
And all his Tributary Streams,
A conſtant Tribute paid to thee;
When all the liquid World was one extended Thames.

When plenty in each Village did appear,
And Bounty was its Steward there;
When Gold walk'd free about in open View
E'er it our conqu'ring Party's Pris'ner grew;
When the Religion of our State,
Had Face and Subſtance with no Voice,
E'er ſhe by'er fooliſh Loves of late,
Like Eccho, came a Nymph turn'd only into Noiſe.

When Men to Men Reſpect and Friendſhip bore,
And God with Reverence did adore;
When upon Earth no Kingdom could have ſhown,
A happier Monarch to us than our own;
And yet his Subjects by him were,
(Which is a Truth will hardly be
Receiv'd by any vulgar Ear,
A Secret known to few) made happi'r ev'n than he.

Thou doſt a *Chaos* and Confuſion, now
A *Babel*, and a Bedlam grow,

And

And like a Frantick Person thou dost bear
The Ornaments and Cloaths which thou should'st wear,
And cut thy Limbs, and if we see
(Just as thy barb'rous *Britons* did)
Thy Body with Hypocrisy
Painted all o'er, thou think'st thy naked Shame is hid.

The Nations, which envy'd thee e'er while,
Now laugh, (too little 'tis to smile)
They laugh, and we'd have pity'd thee (alas!)
But that thy Faults all Pity do surpass.
Art thou the Country which did'st hate,
And mock the *French* Inconstancy?
And have we, have we seen of late,
Less Change of Habits there, than Governments in thee?

Unhappy Isle! no Ship of thine at Sea,
Was ever tos'd and torn like thee.
Thy naked Hulk loose on the Waves, does beat,
The Rocks and Banks around her Ruin threat;
What did they foolish Pilots ail,
To lay the Compass quite aside;
Without a Law or Rule to sail,
And rather take the Winds, then Heav'ns to be their Guide?

Yet mighty God, yet we humbly crave,
This floating Isle from Shipwreck save;
And tho' to wash that Blood which does it stain,
It well deserves to sink into the Main;
Yet for the Royal Martyr's pray'r
(The Royal Martyr Prays we know)
This guilty, perishing Vessel spare;
Hear but his Soul above, and not his Blood below.

FINIS.